20c OCTOBER 15, 1951

The Lithofold Legend—page 14

New Republic

THE BRITISH ELECTION

A Cabled Report and Forecast

by MICHAEL CURTIS of the
London *News Chronicle*

FORRESTAL'S DIARY

reviewed by James R. Newman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

Affidavits as Blackmail

● Your editorial on the loyalty-oath idea, following its validation by the Supreme Court (*NR*, June 18), prompts me to comment on additional details of the same matter.

First, I must admit that I am not greatly impressed by your arguments on the juridical side, where I accept the opinion of the court majority that the specific assurances demanded by the law in question are pertinent. I go along with you rather on the practical point that it is often rascals who sign affidavits freely, where honest people might hesitate—a consideration, of course, outside the scope of the question admitted to the court.

There is, at the same time, a further practical aspect of the matter, and this is the polite form of blackmail which arises wherever affidavits flourish. My business is real estate; and it is common practice to require an affidavit from the maker of an instrument (such as a deed) to the effect that specific acts which would be fraudulent or misleading have not been committed by him nor to his knowledge. In New York State, I believe there is, or was, a law that any person refusing to give such information on real estate under oath shall be summarily arrested by the nearest Notary Public!

Responsible lawyers, in drawing such affidavits, usually take precautions against making statements which might later be construed, in however unlikely a contingency, as perjury. An affidavit may become the basis of a charge of perjury not merely if it is false, but whenever a record can be produced or fabricated which purports to show that it is false. In our work it is therefore a routine precaution not to include in an affidavit anything which either might be, or might be made to appear to be, untrue. Otherwise perjury becomes a possibility—and sometimes the defense against such a charge is nearly as onerous as a conviction, or more so. Even the threat of it may become a determining factor in a title.

It seems to me unlikely that human nature in the realm of machine politics is of much nobler stuff than in my own profession. While in relation to real estate nearly every fact is a matter of some sort of record, in politics this is not the case. There every affidavit is a potential prosecution; and the materials with which it deals are slippery stuff, matters of opinion such as would lend themselves readily, I should think, to fabrications of perjury. The existence of these loyalty affidavits may prove a treasure-house of threats for ingenious politicians to hold over the heads of public servants. The whip of threatened prosecution will induce obedience to the political machine, even to dishonesty, which in turn involves the victim deeper. If perjury and blackmail walk together even in real estate, I should think they might be expected to embrace openly in politics.

If an honest and careful person were thinking about seeking public office, one of the deterrents to his doing so might be the necessity of taking an affidavit which could later be used against him in any one of a number of unscrupulous ways.

New York City HERBERT HARVEY

European Union

● It was with great interest and appreciation that I followed the series of reports of your editor, Michael Straight. I found every one of them fascinating, while to the point and while logical—even when I disagreed.

With reference to Straight's third report, dealing with a proposed European "Union," again I find myself in admiration of his insight and analysis of Europe's difficulties. However, there seem to be points above which, apparently, an American mind cannot transcend in understanding foreign problems (as, of course, conversely a European mind often cannot understand ours). . . .

Straight complains that, although Germany has recovered somewhat from the last war, she is opposed to efforts to "mobilize scrap reserves, to increase coal output, to ration raw materials, to provide land for troop maneuvers." I think Mr. Straight would be equally "opposed" if he had gone through rationing for the past 20 years, as most Germans did, if his house had been bombed and destroyed, if he had spent half of every night in air-raid cellars. . . . It is precisely the psychology of war shock with which General Eisenhower has to deal and which he shrewdly recognizes. Europeans and specifically Germans had enough of wars, even of armaments.

Straight's approach reminds me of that of a social caseworker toward a client, both speaking of "neurotic emotions of self-pity, apathy, hatred and desire for revenge." Are these negative feelings of Germans only? The caseworker attempts at least to assist the client in gaining insight into his own problems so that the latter is being enabled to work them.

Straight argues that, in becoming good Europeans, the Germans' "responsibilities include the bearing of arms," but he concedes that "in German uniform, a German soldier seemed an intolerable gamble to Europeans." Does he not recall history, when Napoleon required a Prussian contingent to march with him into Russia? Then the Germans, quite understandably, made a poor showing. They were not interested in France's war against another nation. Now they are not interested in *our* wars with other nations. For "our" war it is, in the Germans' point of view!

While I do not doubt that many Germans are being enlightened by our way more and more, I question that among them the "young" have priority. It is they who are the least enlightened, even though a number of our writers feel with Straight that the youth can be depended upon. They were babes when Hitler came to power; they did not know the "golden days" of the first and second Reich; they were, as a rule, more poorly educated than their fathers. They had, as a rule, their "golden days" under Hitler. It is there, where, as Straight points out cor-

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Cheap as Dirt

Not the least of Spain's current charms is its low cost of living. Servants are paid the prevailing wage of $5 a month, so seven can be had for the cost of one here a week! – *From the Society Column of the Washington Star.*

Allah Be Praised!

It isn't difficult to become a Moslem, he said. "You just stand up and drink a cup of Turkish coffee, or something, before a high priest, and then sign a statement that you're a Moslem." – *AP dispatch from Paris on the forthcoming marriage between Sheppard King III, Texas oil man, and Egyptian dancer Samia Gamal.*

Strength Through Joy?

The Japanese are starting to read "Pollyanna" in a big way. Kyo Bun Dwan, one of the largest publishers, has made arrangements with L. C. Page & Company to start issuing the fifteen famous "Glad Books" in Japanese. – *From a press release of L. C. Page.*

With My Eyes Wide Open

I personally never laid eyes on or even remotely heard of these characters [Costello and Erickson] in the course of seventeen years in major city work. – *From a letter by New York City Construction Coordinator Robert Moses to Controller Lazarus Joseph.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER 15, 1951

5 Have We Lost Iran? An Editorial

6 The British Election, by Michael Curtis

9 Outside America

10 The Farm Bureau's Big Smear by Jean Begeman

12 John Snyder's Hope Chest, by A. J. Heidenheimer

14 The Legend of Lithofold, by Harry Conn

17 Harold L. Ickes

18 Books:

18 "The Forrestal Diaries," reviewed by James R. Newman

19 "An American History," reviewed by Lloyd Morris

20 "Business Cycles and National Income," reviewed by George Solue

21 "The Adolescent," reviewed by Charles Spielberger

22 On the Air

22 Theatre

EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Helen Fuller
ASSISTANT EDITOR: Elizabeth Huling
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Arnold J. Heidenheimer
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY ASSISTANTS: Marjorie Stanley, Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1951, IN THE U. S. A. BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

A LOT OF people get comfort from assurances that we are improving our atomic weapons, which we are. But the basic facts are less comforting. We are now engaged in an all-out armament race with Russia, and such armament races in the past have almost inevitably led to war. This time the counters in the competition are A-bombs. They are the hardest weapons to control that man's accelerating ingenuity has devised. Control really involves a form of world government that Mid-Century Man is not ready for. Put the "2" and "2" of that equation together, and what do you get? It is too gloomy a sum for us to add up.

The funny thing about the Washington scene is that Senator McCarthy has centered attention almost exclusively on postmortems while the problems of the present receive little Congressional attention. Antiquarians should get a happy sense of comradeship from watching the McCarran committee grub through the causes of the long-past Chiang overthrow, or the Sparkman committee investigating whether or not Ambassador Jessup aided Communism in 1940-44. The attack on Ambassador-designate Chester Bowles also harks back to times past. McCarthyism imposes this backward-looking fog on Washington and still holds the State Department captive in its present actions by misstatements of what it did in the past.

The Iran debacle actually deserves much more Congressional investigation than the collapse of Chiang. Under the system of postponing postmortem snooping we shan't get to it, however, until about AD 1956-57. We are blaming the British; on the other hand, the most influential and pro-American British weekly, *The* (London) *Economist*, bitterly attacks American interference. It is a disaster, in any case, for us both. Iran has 17 percent of the world's known oil reserves. It will cost the UK about a third of a billion dollars in the first year to replace lost Iranian oil from dollar areas. There is a tendency in America to be smug over "Britain's misfortune" and to fail to realize that it is ours, too.

The rearmament program has put a nearly impossible burden on the British economy. The Iranian oil loss accentuates this. Statistics for the latest quarter look black. The fact is that the UK probably cannot sustain the present rearmament burden under existing formulas, although the North Atlantic defense program hinges on a continuation of British rearmament. Now British nerves are taut with election fever, and US policy is a growing issue. We don't have the answer for all this at the minute, but if there ever was a time for loud-mouthed Senators to keep silent, this is it.

We have information that Averell Harriman is likely to head Truman's new combined foreign military and economic aid administration. It will probably be called the "Mutual Security Agency." What this means is that all participants in the intense, three-cornered battle to run the show (Defense Department, State Department and the ECA) have lost out. Harriman's selection means the White House runs it.

We watched unhappily while Truman tried to tell his weekly press conference that too much military information is blabbed in Washington. What he said is true, of course, but he became more and more hopelessly self-contradictory when he blamed the press for publishing data put out by public-relations men of the Administration itself. When he ended everybody was sore, and the customary post-conference "clarifying statement" from the White House didn't help the Little Man very much. Truman has a personal problem here of not preparing his lessons well enough. The bigger problem is that Washington is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such a whispering gallery that a "secret" that takes two hours to seep from one end of the Capital to the other is making slow time.

There isn't much new on the political front. Taft is waiting for an "objective survey" of the nation by two of his lieutenants to see if there is a sufficient call for him to run; and they will tell him "yes," probably to synchronize with publication of his book on foreign affairs, Nov. 15. This is designed to show how really-and-truly internationalist Taft is at heart, even though Colonel McCormick supports him. Meanwhile, Taft men are stressing that Taft is too valuable in the Senate to be allowed to leave.

Columnist Joe Alsop nailed some of Louis Budenz's misstatements before the McCarran committee, and the committee (temporarily on the defensive) had to call Budenz back to try to do better. We watched ex-Red Budenz, though it is always a trying spectacle. There are some men who like to parade their own confessions of shame and degradation. It is a queer sort of trick, but we suppose they enjoy it. Difficulty here was that the Budenz facts still don't seem adequate. Alsop has inexorably bored in and politely asks for a McCarran subpoena.

Notes: Truman probably destroyed the bipartisan usefulness of John Foster Dulles by his casual reference to Dulles as helping him keep "the GOP from going isolationist"; two years' work is lost by one Trumanism. . . . The Senate has shelved the desperately needed bill to aid medical schools. . . . Also Congress has all but forgotten last summer's Missouri flood disaster; it's too busy investigating Communists to harness the Mississippi-Missouri. . . . Mrs. Roosevelt and the Americans for Democratic Action call for retirement of *both* Boyle and Gabrielson. . . . The tax scandal now touches Internal Revenue offices in Boston, New York, Newark, Detroit, St. Louis, and San Francisco; it looks worse than the RFC disclosures. . . . UN forces have now gained territory to spare for bargaining purposes in Korea without going back to the 38th Parallel.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

rectly, "the problem arises from the nature of the transition." . . .

While Straight's points generally are taken clearly and logically, it seems to me that the American mind proves its difference from that of other nations in Straight's treatise as obviously as we find the Germans looking on at us. . . .

New York City HANS A. ILLING

Modern Poetry

● I would like to support Upton Sinclair in his protest (*NR*, Sept. 24) against "modern poetry," which is not poetry at all, and everybody knows it, even the poets.

Mr. Sinclair has not followed the course of the modern poets from the days of the *Little Review*, when the Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven wrote her deathless masterpiece, *My Cast Iron Lover*. Many of our now highly respectable writers were doing much the same in that magazine. They cannot kid me. I have kept my copies of the *Little Review*. That was where the rot started.

For Mr. Sinclair's information I would say that what the moderns call poetry can be divided into three classes. There is the "highbrow," exemplified by T. S. Eliot and Auden, where the poet expresses his contempt for everybody except his own clique. There is the "highwire," the poets who, like Hart Crane, poise on a string of extravagant far-fetched metaphors that threaten to snap. And there is the "haywire," and William Carlos Williams is the high priest of that lot. By keeping everlastingly at it, the modern poets have eliminated rhyme, rhythm and meaning. They are now, as Max Eastman said long ago, merely talking to themselves. Not to each other. They hate each other.

But why worry? Nobody except the cliques reads them. Nobody can possibly remember their lines.

Roxbury, Conn. WILLIAM McFEE

Both Guns and Butter

● In your July 16 issue a correspondent said, ré The Way We Now Live: "A choice has to be made between guns and butter." How wrong he is.

Our problem is that *we can make both guns and butter* until they're coming out of our ears: think of World War II. If there were some way we could match our mass-production power with commensurate mass-buying power, one of the greatest problems, both social and economic, of the US and of the world would be solved. Indeed I suspect that the world's problem child is not Russia, as so many fondly believe, but the USA.

This, of course, does not make Russia any the less a tyranny nor imperialistic Communism any the less our mortal foe. But if we could show the world a democracy functioning smoothly *in the economic sphere* the Iron Curtain could not keep out this knowledge, it would be bound to seep through, and it would most certainly be the catalytic agent which would spell the destruction of Communism and its rulers. Also it would bring back to the United States the political democracy which we are fast losing under attacks by our malefactors of great wealth.

DONALD C. SKONE-PALMER

North Hollywood, Calif.

To Guard Civil Liberties

● . . . Every citizen is duty-bound to guard [civil] liberties that over one million Americans since 1776 have died for. Four ways of doing this are: (a) exercise your own civil liberties—speak up; (b) support your neighbor's rights to enjoy full civil liberties; (c) see that government officials observe and enforce those rights—by supporting the long-appointed but not yet functioning President's (Nimitz) Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights and (d) support the patriotic American Civil Liberties Union—the only national anti-Communist civil-rights organization.

It would be to the best interests of all Americans to get behind and support those who defend our liberties. In these days of tension we may be criticized or even persecuted for defending civil liberties but we must remember that eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty. Civil liberties are as much American as the Statue of Liberty and the Liberty Bell.

Lincoln, March 1861, posed the problems to civil liberties when he faced Congress in that fateful month and said:

> Must a government, of necessity, be too *strong* for the liberties of its own peoples, or too *weak* to maintain its own existence?

Pittsburgh, Pa. EDWARD J. BLOTZER JR.

Criticism of Catholicism

● In the September 3 issue of the *New Republic*, Harry M. Leet, of Gaithersburg, Md., asks for an explanation of the stand of the Catholic Church as regards Paul Blanshard's new book, *Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power*. May I suggest that Mr. Leet read the article, "Answer to Paul Blanshard," written by James C. G. Conniff in the September issue of the *Catholic Digest*.

Perhaps if those who question the rightful place of the Catholic Church in this country would take more time to read our Catholic publications and spend less time reading such writings as Paul Blanchard's they would come to know what the Catholic Church stands for. . . .

Seattle, Wash. (MRS.) ZACH F. HAWE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 125, NUMBER 16, ISSUE 1924, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 15, 1951 **New Republic**

HAVE WE LOST IRAN?

MOHAMMED MOSSADEGH, the Premier of Iran, has been hauled by the British Government before the bar of the United Nations. There the accuser will soon become the accused. Weeping, fainting, shouting and pleading, Mossadegh will none the less impress Americans with Iran's long list of grievances against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Many of these grievances are sound, but Mossadegh is not. Leaving all considerations of Britain's and Europe's needs aside, and judging him by the needs of Iran alone, Mossadegh is a disaster; trapped by his own extremism, he is dragging his country toward ruin.

Mossadegh's theme is nationalization. It was not the issue when Mossadegh became Premier; it became the issue during months in which the failure of the AIOC to propose adequate reforms helped the drift toward extremism to set in. It was already too late when nationalization was accepted by the British Government. Confiscation and not nationalization was the purpose of the Implementation Law of April 30. Hussein Makki declared that when all claims were resolved the AIOC would be in debt to Iran.

The proposals of Averell Harriman and of Richard Stokes were based on the creation of a management company as successor to the AIOC to work under contract for Iran. These proposals were constructive and reasonable. They were wholly rejected by Mossadegh. His hope has been that he can recruit foreign technicians and Iranian managers who will maintain production at Abadan and conserve all revenues for Iran. This hope is forlorn. There are no Iranians competent today to run the industry. There are not enough foreign technicians available to maintain production for an Iranian company, working in defiance of established concerns. Mossadegh's reliance on selling crude oil to world markets, if Iran is unable to refine its oil, is a further illusion. The world shortage is in refining capacity, not crude oil.

Mossadegh has burned one bridge after another. He has survived because the British Government has looked on the problem as one personal to Mossadegh. Starting with the appeal to the World Court, and ending with the rush to the UN, the British Government has tried to isolate Mossadegh and to drive him from power. Its actions have had the opposite effect. Mossadegh spoke for eight of the 100 members of the Majlis and two of the 60 members of the Senate when, almost by accident, he became Premier. Now he is looked on as a savior in Iran. Fourteen deputies had formed the nucleus of an effort to unseat Mossadegh three weeks ago. Now they are backing him again in rejecting any review or censorship by the UN. Clearly British policy has been mistaken. As long as the issue is seen as one of getting rid of Mossadegh his power will increase.

Day by day, now that the British technicians have been driven out, the refinery at Abadan is deteriorating. Equipment has become unusable. Escaping gas from chemical plants is causing a mounting threat of fire and explosion. Not only does Iran's oil seem to be lost, Iran itself is in danger. Close to half of the Iranian Government's revenues were taken from AIOC. Vital imports were financed by exports of oil. For the past few months AIOC has been paying its idle workers, and Iran's $14 million gold reserve has provided stop-gap financing. Soon civil servants and soldiers will not be paid, mass unemployment and hunger will develop. As economic pressures multiply the Soviet-backed Tudeh will be the most likely contender for power in a coup d'état.

Important as Iran's oil is for the West, Iran itself is still more important. For this reason, rather than starving Iran as a means of bringing pressure for an oil settlement, the US should continue its economic aid. Yet although this aid may help, it cannot replace oil revenues.

The status quo is fatal. No return to former days is possible. While the AIOC is the proper heir to any new international enterprise at Abadan, as an exclusive monopoly in Iran it is dead. Obviously a new solution is needed to break the deadlock. The best hope lies in a new Middle East Oil Company. In this company the present Western nations, pooling their resources in the Middle East, would provide joint management in return for one-half the stock. The other half would be held collectively by the Middle East nations. The participation of other Western nations would salvage Britain's investments while easing Iran's resistance to continued British domination. The participation of other Middle East nations would prevent the repetition in Irak and Saudi Arabia of this year's costly blunders in Iran.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION

A REPORT AND FORECAST FROM LONDON

by Michael Curtis

THERE IS every indication that Labor is due for a fearful beating when the British people go to the polls on October 25. To any visiting American the atmosphere in London just now must be very reminiscent of the historic Presidential election of 1948. Everybody, including most of the Socialists, believes that Mr. Churchill is heading fast for No. 10 Downing Street and that only a miracle can stop him. Prime Minister Attlee is almost alone in his conviction that he can "do a Truman," defeat the public-opinion polls, and push the Conservatives back into the wilderness of opposition.

Even so the Labour Party is fighting a desperate rear-guard action. Its appeal is more than ever a negative one, consisting almost entirely of gloomy foreboding about what will happen if the Tories get back. Churchill is portrayed as an old-fashioned Imperialist, on the Palmerstonian model, who will immediately start dispatching gunboats in all directions—thereby precipitating World War III.

Full employment (there are half a million more jobs vacant in Britain today than there are workers to fill them) is said to be a sure victim of Tory rule, and a dark picture is painted of the bad old days when the "dole" queues stretched endlessly and hopelessly through Britain's industrial cities.

When Mr. Attlee announced the election date last month, the Stock Exchange (well primed by the Gallup Poll which had long forecast a considerable Conservative "swing") made whoopee to the extent of permitting a general boom in share prices. The Labour press fell upon this intelligence like hungry wolves. The Tories, they said, not without justification, are the Party of big business. Here was the Stock Exchange hoping to make fat profits out of rearmament. Whatever the Conservative leaders might promise in the heat of the hustings (and they are promising plenty), the plutocrats who have contributed thousands of pounds to Lord Woolton's campaign fund will ultimately demand their pound of flesh. Such was the first theme song of Labour propaganda. It has set the pattern of their campaign strategy ever since.

It is exceedingly doubtful whether it will succeed in its purpose. The reason for Labour's success in 1945 (and to a lesser extent in 1950) was that it appealed not merely to the acquisitive interests of a particular economic section, but also to a considerable minority who sincerely believed that it would lead the country toward a society where individual profit would be subordinated to public service.

This influential minority, mainly drawn from the professional and middle classes, were the genuine idealists. Few of them were convinced Marxian Socialists, but they all believed in the need for a "new deal" in both national and international politics. The hardships of war made the same impact upon them as had the Great Depression on the Americans who turned to Roosevelt in 1932.

Six years have passed and disillusion has eaten remorselessly into this bastion of Socialist support. The first casualties were those who believed, with Ernest Bevin, that Left would speak to Left, and that Socialist Britain would march bravely alongside the USSR. Mr. Molotov and his friends quickly disposed of that notion.

Others who fell by the wayside were those who became increasingly aware that nationalization was not all that it had been cracked up to be. The miners, the railwaymen, the steel and electrical workers discovered that life in these great basic industries went on much the same whether Lord Snooks or Mr. Attlee happened to be the boss. The only difference was that if anything went wrong Mr. Attlee seemed somehow even harder to approach than Lord Snooks had once been.

One senses everywhere a bankruptcy of ideas coupled with a physical exhaustion. Cynical members of the Party are apt nowadays to describe their leaders as the dead-end kids. Mr. Herbert Morrison, the chief thinking-machine for the Party, is sometimes represented as an intellectual old-clothes man who has chalked up a sign in his shop window reading: "Ideas wanted. No reasonable offer for reasonable notions refused. Good prices given for Liberal cast-offs."

There are no fresh measures of nationalization promised in the Labour program. Disillusion here is acute in all sections of the Party, and especially so among the young. The period of confidence has gone. If you ask any intelligent politician today to hazard a guess as to what will be the great Party issues dividing the nation five or 10 years hence, he will shrug his shoulders. Labour has abandoned certainty. It has given up prophecy. No longer do we hear the statements which were so proudly put about in 1945 that Socialism would reign in Britain for the rest of the century.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Only in its program of Social Services, and in particular the National Health Service, has Labour lived up to expectations. Today these are its greatest, indeed its only positive electoral assets. But even here there is a shadow cast over our otherwise sunlit scene of humanitarian progress. The awkward question is asked: Can we really afford these admirable but costly schemes when the nation is struggling to balance its foreign trade and at the same time pushing through a major rearmament drive?

The colossal dollar deficit announced last week by Chancellor Gaitskell to a stony-faced audience of merchant bankers in the City of London may well make the electorate pause. For the third time since 1945 the nightmare of national bankruptcy has startled the British people to an awareness that something is badly wrong. The fact that these recurrent dollar crises have little or nothing to do with Socialism is irrelevant just now. The nightmare can hardly have returned at a more awkward moment for Labour. The patient is in a cold sweat, and, being an ordinary mortal, is deaf to the conflicting overtones of economic theorists. He just has a notion that a change of political air would make him feel better.

It is at this point—the economic question of whether the present scale of expenditures on welfare can be justified—that Mr. Aneurin Bevan takes his cue. Bevan's position, since he resigned from the Cabinet on this issue last May, has been widely disputed. He maintains that if anything has to be sacrificed it is the rearmament program. He has declared that Russia's strength is grossly overestimated by the military pundits and that, in any case, Communism must be resisted with something more potent than guns and atom bombs. He claims that any attack on domestic security will merely weaken the will of the working classes to make sacrifices on behalf of international security.

Fortified by a holiday with Marshal Tito on the shores of the Adriatic, Bevan returned to England in the fall breathing fire and slaughter on all those in the Labour Party who dared to think differently. He pointed out, with some justice, that events were going his way. Prices were rising faster than wages. Inflation was causing high profits. The export trade was going down hill, and the Chancellor himself had been compelled to restrict dividends (as Bevan had demanded two months earlier). At Ottawa Mr. Gaitskell was soon to resist General Eisenhower's plea that he should step up Britain's rearmament effort on grounds that the country could not possibly afford it.

This virtuous chorus of "I told you so" from the Bevanites swelled into a crescendo and burst on a startled and demoralized Party in the shape of yet another pamphlet issued by the Socialist publication *Tribune*, entitled "Going Our Way."

It was a scorching attack on the government and on a number of powerful Trade Union leaders. The sensation was all the greater because advance copies reached the press on the very day that Mr. Attlee suddenly and unexpectedly announced his decision to go to the country.

This was red meat for the Tories, and the Conservative *Daily Mail* swung into action with a joyous front-page streamer, "Bevan Fires the First Shot—on Attlee!"

The breach was hastily patched up. Bevan himself declared that now was the time for all good Socialists to unite and packed his bags for Scarborough, where the Labour Party's convention was about to begin. Swallowing hard, the moderates followed in his wake and even allowed him to have a say in the framing of the Party's election manifesto.

The Convention, which was originally to have been the scene for a tremendous showdown between the Bevanites and the orthodox wing led by Morrison, now became the occasion for comradely bonhommie and a rip-roaring election send-off.

There was only one difficult moment. The annual election to the Party Executive in the local constituency sections (traditionally Left-wing) resulted in a sweeping victory for Bevan and three of his followers. Once again there was an impotent gnashing of teeth by the Trade Unionists, who nevertheless still retain an easy majority on the Executive as a whole.

But the Conservatives scored a useful propaganda point. Labour had been trying hard to build up Attlee as the more desirable occupant of No. 10 Downing Street. Winston, they had argued, was old, reckless and irresponsible. Attlee by contrast was sensible, calm and moderate. Now the Conservatives can legitimately point at the menacing shadow of Bevan which appears likely to swallow up the diminutive Clem at any moment! It is a beautiful oversimplification, of course, but convincing enough to send many a floating voter scuttling for safety under the broad banner of the Conservative Party.

Bevan's influence among the rank-and-file Labourites remains an enigma. He appeals strongly to the more militant and politically active groups in the Party but has now earned the bitter enmity of the Trade Union leaders who have always been the real backbone of British Socialism, and who, incidentally, provide most of the cash at election time. Bevan is also distrusted by a growing number of "middle-of-the-road" Socialists who question his loyalty, his good faith and even his democratic instincts.

One observer at Scarborough noted that whenever Bevan spoke the ghost of class hatred stalked the hall

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the mingled delight and discomfort of the delegates. There is something in this, and it explains why no one is capable of standing up to him at this moment. For the more Labour is forced into a corner, the more it must depend on its simple claim to represent the poor and the underdog against the power of wealth and privilege.

Most party systems are based, to a greater or less degree, on this old and most potent of political motivations. But in Britain, still less in America, it is seldom the deciding factor. Despite the still rigid class structure, very few British working people are actively hostile to what is left of the old "ruling class." On the contrary, the Conservatives have always been able to count on the support of millions who will vote for the Churchills, Cecils and Edens, simply because of an innate respect for their background and training as English gentlemen—an apparently naive point of view for which history has nonetheless provided some justification. The essential conservatism of the British people is always underestimated by our own radicals. They forget that in times of crisis there is invariably a marked tendency to look to the Right.

There are several factors now at work which give strength to this deep-seated national instinct. The first and most important of these is the international situation. There is little doubt that British patriotism has taken several hard knocks during the last year or two. The natural supremacy of the United States among the Atlantic Powers evokes a nostalgic and sometimes bitter recollection of the great days when Britannia ruled the waves—and most of the earth as well.

The withdrawal from India and Burma was generally accepted as necessary and inevitable. Yet even this was an uncomfortable reminder that the British lion was past his prime. When, therefore, Labour's foreign policy met with petty rebuffs, such as the mining of two destroyers in the Adriatic in 1946, the calculated insolence of the Egyptians over the Suez Canal, and now the complete evacuation from the oil fields of Southern Persia, every patriotic instinct is aroused. The unfortunate Labour Government can say what it likes about the rule of law, the United Nations and the need for patience and peaceful negotiations—but the weight of national sentiment is against it.

The Conservatives are plugging the slogan "Put the 'Great' back into Britain," and there is no doubt of its appeal, especially to the womenfolk. It is highly significant that a recent Gallup Poll showed that 14 percent of intending Labour voters would prefer a Conservative foreign policy. One thing is quite certain. If anyone else has the temerity to twist the lion's tail at this delicate psychological moment, there will be an earth-shattering roar of rage and indignation. (Dean Acheson, Joe Stalin and the President of Salvador please note!)

With all these factors in their favor, the precise terms of Conservative election pledges would appear to be of minor significance. One London evening newspaper went so far as to advise Mr. Churchill not to worry about his own policy but to concentrate on exposing the iniquities and manifest shortcomings of Socialist rule! But the Tory leaders are taking no chances this time. "Just one more heave," Churchill urged them in February, 1950. The effort then was not enough.

Today, the Conservative candidate is like a man who has read in all the newspapers that a distant relative has left him a large fortune. All that remains is for his lawyer to knock on the door with the check in his briefcase. The Tories, in fact, are very confident, but they steadfastly refuse to count their chickens. If you are so inconsiderate as to hiss the word "Dewey," they will visibly flinch. Like the Republicans in 1948, the Conservative theme song is "Anything you can do we can do better." And the Welfare State, full employment and even a tax on profits have found their way into the Tory program.

Right-wing economists close their eyes and shudder. But Churchill, full of his old Liberal fire, has had his way. He looks forward to a broad-based government with Liberals and Independents sitting in the Cabinet. The Old Guard Tories—for the time being—are pushed into the background.

The Liberal Party as a genuine independent political force is now almost extinct. The handful of MPs who have represented it since 1945 have been the victims of remorseless pressure from the Left and from the Right. They possess no outstanding leader who could resist the blandishments of Mr. Morrison and Mr. Churchill. Of the two, Mr. Churchill has been the more ardent and certainly the most subtle wooer. Today there are a half-dozen Liberals who, at Mr. Churchill's personal direction, will be given a clear field to fight the Socialists. They, and they alone, are likely to find their way back to Westminster. One can only suppose that their fate will be the same as that of all the other Liberals who have forsaken the path of virtue and yielded to the embrace of the Conservative machine. Much will depend on Mr. Churchill's own fortunes, but the chance of a Liberal revival must be rated very small indeed.

The reader will by now have gathered that the author has placed himself well out on a limb. He does, indeed, take the view that a Conservative victory is as certain as anything can be in politics. This said, he may as well cut off his last line of retreat and forecast a Conservative majority of at least 150 in the next British House of Commons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Outside America

TAKING CHANCES IN EUROPE

In all European dialects of the language of diplomacy, the equivalents of the phrase, "very personal reasons," in the context of the official explanation of the resignation of a major statesman from a key position almost invariably are interpreted as meaning, "very political reasons." When prompt, full, or at least believable clarification isn't unofficially planted or leaked, there is always a strong tendency to believe that the reasons tend to be politically embarrassing.

American diplomatic language may be different. Or the case of General Marshall may be an exception to the semantic rule. But it isn't surprising, in view of the fact that the resignation was tendered on the eve of the generosity toward Japan at San Francisco and made public when Secretary Acheson seemed to be rushing forward to some similar form of generosity toward Germany, that Europeans who have fears about the pace and degree of both generosities should have seen the General's timing as evidence of personal, moral dissent.

It may be nonsense, or at least a gross exaggeration, to believe, as some of these Europeans do, that Marshall got out because he refused personally to be a party to a calculated risk even more dangerous than the ones General MacArthur advocated. The readiness to accept such an interpretation reveals, however, the growth of the fear that American insistence on following up the Japanese arrangement with some similar deal with West Germany presents a dreadful risk.

The day before Marshall's resignation was announced, the French official news agency, *Agence France Presse*, said: "British Foreign Secretary Morrison told Secretary Acheson that certain British circles fear that American officials are ready—in the event of a definite rupture—to give unhesitatingly very broad extension to the European conflict." Acheson was said to have given "assurances about United States intentions"; but the departure of Marshall—perhaps the most respected American in Europe, not even excepting General Eisenhower—and the praise of Acheson from men like Sen. William K. Knowland offered little encouragement to the British and other Western European worriers about the United States' intentions—and timing.

The "mystery" of the sorry Soviet performance at San Francisco tends to clarify itself if there is any soundness in the European view that the Kremlin deliberately "took" its defeat on Japan in order to give full-dress public warning that it would not take the next defeat in store for it—on Germany. The American timetable calls for the signing, within the next two or three months, of an agreement giving the Bonn Government virtual sovereignty. The French view that rearmament—both military and economic—should be slowed until all aspects of the German deal are worked together slowly in terms of the Schuman and Pleven Plans, is to be brushed aside. And though there is every sign that the power and prestige of the Ruhr magnates and German generals are rising fast, the right of the Western occupying Powers to intervene in German domestic affairs after the contractual agreement is signed will be reduced, on American insistence, far below what the French consider a necessary minimum.

The Russians take a much more serious view of the application of the American policy of "magnanimity paired with realism" to Germany than they did to its application to Japan. Some of the reasons are quite plain. The Russians have the means of facing and fighting the re-birth of Japan's "Asian Co-Prosperity Scheme." Marxists, economists, ruthless materialists, they think Japan's renewed rise to power is limited by the absence of raw materials and, above all, by the fact that Japan does not have the industrial resources of Manchuria.

But the West has the Ruhr and the Rhineland. West Germany can once again become a great industrial and military power. And even if there is no war, once Germany has started well on the way toward becoming the keystone of a Franco-German combine, dominating Europe and aided by America, Russia will be beaten.

The Russian note to France, arguing that the Pleven and Schuman Plans are helping revive Germany, suggests the direction the Kremlin is taking in its effort to prevent the next—and in Russian eyes more serious—defeat. If the French Government can't be frightened out of the American camp, the new Russian tactic will be to break the mass of the French people away.

Intelligent men in the ECA recognize this danger. A policy memorandum warns that a "great wave of labor unrest is to be expected in the immediate future" in France and elsewhere in Western Europe. Prices are soaring—bread, milk, coal, meat, electricity, transport—and even the conservative French press admits that the government's floundering efforts to face the situation treated by rearmament produce only "unanimous discontent" among all the labor unions—including those most ardently anti-Communist. The ECA quite soundly predicts that the Communists will profit; and inevitably, greater Soviet strength on the French home front will be used as a lever against the deal with the Germans.

The lever may not be powerful enough. French discontent, even a serious cut in the amount of French rearmament, may not be enough to bring about a change in the pace of American policy toward Germany; the Americans may decide that it is more important to make Germany strong than it is to prevent the kind of weakening in France that could be avoided by a slower, more measured pace. In that event—and this is the calculated risk which many Europeans believe Marshall declined to take—the Russians may choose a time when the French are economically gasping for breath to use other than diplomatic means to strike at America's jugular—the nascent Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe.

Paris PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FARM BUREAU'S BIG SMEAR

by Jean Begeman

IT IS HARD to believe that anything as non-controversial as an attempt to obtain grassroots appraisal of the Department of Agriculture's programs and policies would set off a smear campaign second only to Joe McCarthy's attacks on the State Department. Even the ghost of Alger Hiss has been invoked (page-one banner headline, Indianapolis *Star*: "Farm Plan Linked to Alger Hiss") by a coalition of conservative farm groups, bankers and Republicans in a concerted effort to persuade American farmers that the Administration is collectivism-bound.

The innocent beginning of this furor was Secretary of Agriculture Charles Brannan's announcement early this year that during the month of September, the Department would sponsor "Family Farm Policy Review" meetings throughout the country to give farmers a chance to "take a new look at all the farm programs and activities" and to discuss how "our farm policies should be improved to help family farms and farm families make their full contribution to the strength and security of a free America." Secretary Brannan, Under-Secretary Clarence McCormick and other Agriculture officials were careful to invite the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, the Farmers' Union and related groups to take part in outlining the program. Soon after the first meeting in January, Farm Bureau President Allan Kline wrote McCormick: ". . . the idea of a thorough review of the various activities in the Department seems to us a good one . . . both unique and well fitted to the purpose of an objective appraisal."

A month later Kline reversed his position. Without bothering to consult any of the 1.5 million Farm Bureau members, Kline dictatorially announced that the Department of Agriculture's plan to get "grassroots" recommendations is "fraught with dangers." Such an approach, Kline said, "is the sort of procedure which would recommend itself to an authoritarian government. . . . It does not seem to us to be consistent with true democratic processes or with the local responsibility, without which self-government cannot be expected to survive." So began the Farm Bureau's new anti-Administration drive.

To have had the co-operation of the Farm Bureau on a major Department of Agriculture project would have been almost unprecedented. Since early 1949, President Kline, Secretary Roger Fleming and other Farm Bureau leaders have opposed each step of Secretary Brannan's farm program as well as most of the "welfare" and public-power measures that would benefit the small farmers. Kline has centered his attack on Secretary Brannan and the so-called Brannan Plan, which he continues to call a "politico-economic philosophy [that] would place a ceiling on opportunity in agriculture." He is a master at twisting the facts as was evidenced in 1950 when he charged that the Brannan Plan would "dissipate" the reserves of storable commodities. Brannan has consistently emphasized that production payments (which are the heart of the Brannan Plan) were recommended only on non-storable commodities. In answer to Kline, Secretary Brannan on September 23, 1950, wrote a detailed letter pointing out that the charges are "wholly untrue and a disservice to American farmers." He added:

> I had some hopes that in the Korean situation you might have found reason for redirecting your own energies and those of your immediate staff away from the vicious personal attacks you have leveled against me and the Department of Agriculture and toward the things that must be done by, for and with the American farmers in months ahead. Yet each copy of your many official publications reflects that the same unconstructive and unfair attacks are to be continued. . . . If you feel any responsibility to the public and to the members who pay dues which you are using to attack and discredit those who refuse to subjugate their views and actions to yours, you will see to it that a correction is sent to all who received the false information.

Kline's organization has not only opposed price control since the Korean outbreak, but also firmly believes that it was a mistake during World War II. The Farm Bureau stood alone last year in its lobby efforts in behalf of the Bricker-Wherry amendment which would have imposed price controls on an all-or-nothing basis, rather than on a selective one. Secretary Brannan found it necessary to write to the Senate, calling attention to the fact that the amendment would actually penalize farmers by imposing price ceilings on all farm commodities just to control the price of one item, such as farm-tractor tires.

More recently, the Farm Bureau has proposed a 50-percent reduction in the agricultural-conservation program favors new taxes on farmer co-operatives—a position never before held by a farm organization—generation and transmission of power by private power companies, and a gross tax of 3.5 percent on Rural Electrical Administration's energy sales.

The battle between the Farm Bureau and the Department of Agriculture is rapidly reaching a climax over the principle of the Family Farm Policy Review program. The Agriculture Department believes that the family

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR
FAIR AND FIRST
★ ★ ★ ★ FRIDAY MORNING, AUGUST 31, 1951
Farm Plan Linked To Alger Hiss
New Brannan Plan Draws Indiana Fire
Jailed Red Described As Founder
Extension Service Joins Farm Bureau in Opposition
To Farmer Opinion Su

farm is "vital to the economy, prosperity and military defense of the nation." By definition, the "family farm" is one which "provides the main source of income for the farm family, on which the farm operator [owner or tenant] or members of his family make most of the managerial decisions, participate regularly in farm work, and normally supply a substantial part of the labor needed to operate the farm." About 98 percent of the farming units in the US fall into this class. "Family farming," the Department of Agriculture believes, "is a way of life —a way of rural living and of national democracy." Ownership is not absolutely required, but it is definitely a goal. The Department of Agriculture wants to see that small farms are operating at top efficiency in this period of mobilization.

News Letter, official organ of the Farm Bureau, opened the attack on the Family Farm Review with McCarthy-like language, relating the Department of Agriculture's definition of "family farming" with Webster's definition of a "peasant" (i.e., a "rustic; esp., in European countries, a tiller of the soil either as a small proprietor or as a laborer")—an analogy which is rather baffling since (1) the definitions are not alike and (2) if they were, there are few working farmers who would object to being termed "a tiller of the soil." And as for "farming as *a way of life*," that was "licked 200 years ago when agriculture emerged from revolutionary mechanization as a farm business," according to Farm Bureauites.

The Indiana Farm Bureau began its smear campaign in mid-summer. On July 29, the Indianapolis *Star* ran a front-page streamer: "Farmers Face New 'Trap'—Socialization Move Conceived in Secrecy." The news story which followed stated that Brannan may "reduce the American farmer to peasant status, dependent on the government, and absorbed in a socialistic crusade of unlimited proportions." On August 30, Roger Fleming, Washington Farm Bureau representative, flew to Indianapolis to speak before an emergency meeting of Indiana's County Farm Bureau presidents. At that meeting, Fleming charged that "Alger Hiss is one of the parents of the new farm program which Secretary of Agriculture Brannan is trying to impress on the nation's farmers through his Family Farm Policy Review." The Indianapolis *Star* (August 31) reported:

> Hiss and other brain trusters, according to Fleming, conceived a new pattern for American agriculture which would eliminate large farms and reduce others to a peasant status. . . . Fleming traced the development of the plans of Hiss and his colleagues through the administration of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture down to the Brannan Plan and its successor, the Family Farm Policy Review.

The Farm Bureau sent letters to all local officers ordering them to boycott the Review meetings in September. It was joined by the American Bankers Association. Objecting to some of the credit provisions for farmers up for discussion in the meetings, the ABA *Journal* (September, 1951) called on members to "notify the banks of your association—or at least the key bankers—immediately, and have them get in touch with their county agricultural-mobilization committee to voice objection."

Despite these attacks, the farm meetings were held last month and, according to the Department of Agriculture, constructive reports on farm needs are now coming into the Department from them. Farm Bureau officials are afraid that Secretary Brannan now has real evidence of farm support for his program to take to Congress; this threatens their self-appointed position as the only "true spokesman" for the farmer. There is no doubt that President Kline reached a new low in this calculated attack on Secretary Brannan. He may finally have overreached himself. It is conceivable that conscientious fellow Republicans and Farm Bureauites may feel impelled to repudiate his smear on the Department of Agriculture as Sen. Margaret Chase Smith and other Republicans did in their disavowal of McCarthy's smear of the Department of State.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOHN SNYDER'S HOPE CHEST

by A. J. Heidenheimer

ONCE A YEAR the governors of the International Monetary Fund gather in conference at a cosmopolitan hotel, sip cocktails and discuss affairs of the financial world. This year's meeting found them gathered in mid-September at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, over-shadowed by the conferences at San Francisco and Ottawa. Delegates had plenty of chance to sip and gossip, for there was not much business to talk about. The Fund had made only one $28 million loan in a year's time. In a world whose wobbly currencies outnumber its "hard" ones by an overwhelming majority, the Fund, its $8 billion stabilization endowment and its top-notch experts have nothing to do. Furthermore, the governors learned, it was not planning to do any.

For that the delegates had the word of John Snyder, whose voice was authoritative largely because he casts 30 percent, and controls a goodly majority, of the Fund's votes. Snyder's Treasury Department looks askance at most of the rest of the world—those countries that through choice or necessity have sacrificed the tenets of free trade by invoking exchange controls. It is the Treasury's position that the Fund is meaningless unless all its members want free trade, and it was that ideal in its laissez-faire purity which Snyder dauntlessly attempted to bring alive for a group of ministers who were wondering just where to put the patches to keep their economies above water.

When the meetings opened, Snyder, or at least the Treasury brain-workers who wrote his speeches, were blandly optimistic. The US would see to it that the Fund's articles of agreement—which in 1944 anticipated a rosy postwar world and prescribed the virtual abolition of exchange restrictions by March, 1952—be upheld. To back up his stand, Snyder spoke bluntly. The Fund would not lend automatically to its members, as some governors say the articles of agreement provide; it would not even lend to any "credit-worthy" member, as the British insisted it should. No, the Fund's resources were to be used only toward the abolition of trade restrictions. The British argued in vain that they could not abandon restrictions at a time when they are losing dollars and gold at an alarming rate even *with* controls. The Treasury stuck to its principles, even if it meant taking a licking. And it was defeated. On Friday, according to Felix Belair Jr. of the New York *Times*, Snyder "conceded defeat . . . and served polite notice that the agency's $8 billion of resources would be as hard to get as in the past."

Once again US leadership had been sacrificed and discredited in international councils. The Treasury's critics say that is what one must expect when the Old Lady on Pennsylvania Avenue is given her head. In pursuance of misty and irrelevant goals, the Treasury is a continued drag on foreign policy. It bitterly opposed the European Payments Union because it would create a "closed market," ignoring the enormous impetus the EPU would give in smoothing European financial problems. At the Ottawa meetings, Snyder insisted that the Europeans should not get any more money from us. The solution, as he saw it, was to balance the budget by cutting welfare and housing programs. In vain did other Americans point out this may lead Europeans to reject our leadership. Snyder didn't quite understand. "What do you mean," he said, "where else are they going to go?"

Fortunately, Snyder's word is not decisive on many international questions. The often boldly realistic proposals of the ECA and the sound and steady policies of the State Department tend to outbalance the Treasury's weight in the higher councils of government. The Fund is the only international agency toward which the Treasury formulates US policy, and it holds that franchise by virtue of the fact that the Fund was largely conceived and developed by Henry Morgenthau and Harry Dexter White. But in sharp contrast to what was hoped at Bretton Woods, the Fund today has almost no influence—and for that Snyder's Treasury is largely responsible.

Conceived by Americans, born on American soil, the Fund was established to "promote international monetary co-operation" by buttressing weak currencies and freeing the channels of world trade. Socialists and other believers in controlled economies were always skeptical of the American faith in the free-trade part of the Fund's credo. But optimists hoped that the Fund might come to replace the gold standard as the financial basis of a free-trading world. Until quite recently this striving toward free universal trade was a cornerstone of US foreign policy. But today the good intentions of the free-trade advocates have become increasingly discredited.

This has happened because the believers in free trade have not been able to shape policies adapted to changed conditions. The postwar world has turned out to be far different from what the financial architects at Bretton Woods envisioned. For one thing, there has been an almost constant pattern of inflation, whereas the Fund was set up primarily as an instrument to fight deflationary excesses. For another, the conflict with world Com-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munism has created a new set of values. Our clearest thinkers now recognize that it is essential to devote the full potential of weak national economies to the improvement of local living conditions and the encouragement of new local industry.

This decision has militated against the advocates of free trade whose policies are based on a universal pattern rather than regional ones. Free-trade principles have not been abandoned, but they have definitely been put on ice. In the State Department the free-traders have lost most of their power. Their stronghold, the Commercial Policy section, was once a major, policy-making group. But today the Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Willard Thorp, is a much less influential man than was his predecessor, Will Clayton. His subordinates' loss of prestige to the more regionally-minded officers on the "country desks" in the Department reflect the changed policy emphasis.

But the agency most opposed to Treasury orthodoxy is the Economic Co-operation Administration. Set up to achieve certain concrete goals, the ECA has little sympathy for Snyder's concern for conservative lending policies and free trade. Eager to show solid accomplishments, the ECA has found itself repeatedly undercut by long-winded objections from the Treasury. Its impatient young men see nothing positive that the "doctrinaire free-traders" and "financial pedants" who make policy for the Treasury and the Fund could have contributed to the recovery of Europe. "How," they ask, "can you deal with people whose minds are so rigidly fixed on irrelevant issues?"

But to the Treasury's representatives the issues involved are anything but irrelevant. Frank Southard Jr., the American executive director of the Fund, sees the issue as one of ideals against expediency. During the EPU wrangle he defended the Treasury position so fervently as to win the unofficial title of "high priest of convertibility." Today he sees the issue in the same light. "There is no Fund," he says, "except as the Fund set up in its objectives. . . . The cash was put up to move toward these objectives . . . and the US Government and people would not remain in it without these objectives."

Southard shudders when he thinks that the Fund's resources might have been thrown open for automatic drawing. He thinks there would have been a free-for-all which would have drained the Fund of its dollars and gold in no time, thereby bankrupting it. The initial loans made in late 1947—the only large ones the Fund ever made—are to him "desperation drawings" which were not really proper in terms of the Fund's concept. He thinks the Fund was right not to try to supplement Marshall Plan aid to Europe. Indeed he sees the Marshall Plan itself primarily as a financial transaction. To him it is "the aid Congress was willing to vote for balance-of-payments purposes."

Anyone meeting Southard is convinced of the sincerity of his belief in his ideals. To him, the Fund means nothing without the ideal of free trade to aim at. Making the Fund perform purely mechanistic functions would violate the basic tenets of the economic philosophy which he—and he thinks the American people—hold. "As an American official," he says, "I am not enough interested in preserving the Fund to find perverted and distorted means to keep it in business."

What can the Fund do to overcome the present fruitless deadlock? Some of its most conservative officials recognize, as does its Swedish managing director, Ivar Rooth, that it must make its resources available "to be used by its members in practical programs." The Fund will soon call a special meeting to try to persuade the exchange control countries to make concessions along control-cutting lines. But chances for a compromise are not good. The British have just announced that they lost 600 million in dollars and gold during the third quarter of this year, and a November sterling area conference is expected to recommend yet more stringent controls in an effort to halt the drain. This will force the two sides in the Fund yet further apart.

Yet—unless it is gradually to dissolve—the Fund must unfreeze the vast resources it now has cached away in various central banks. If it finds that it cannot make progress along preconceived lines, the Fund may have to create a new and worthy field for itself.

An obvious challenge for the Fund is to throw itself behind an effort to simplify convertibility problems by reducing the number of currencies which require interconverting. It could start by backing the EPU with its prestige and resources to encourage the formation of a common West European currency. The New Europe currency, the pound sterling and the dollar would be used between them to cover exchange transactions for 80 to 90 percent of the world's cross-border trade. Insuring their stability and free use within their respective territories would free trade as much as possible.

Such a consolidation program would not bring about a perfect balance of payments system overnight—or ever. It would not make possible an ending of exchange controls. But it would focus the now diffuse pattern of conflicts. Consolidating the Fund's efforts and resources is much preferable to the present policy of "conserving" the organization for a far distant period of relative "normalcy." If a program like Point Four can make a beginning at ameliorating world poverty with far less resources, the Fund can take a chance on using its $8 billion toward progress in its more limited area.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LEGEND OF LITHOFOLD

by Harry Conn

UNTIL LAST JULY, when heat generated by the sun, the Grand Jury and the *Post-Dispatch* made it front page news, the American Lithofold Corporation was unknown even to most citizens of its home city of St. Louis. A small printing firm with less than 500 employees, it operated in almost complete obscurity from an unimposing, two-story brick building on Bittner Street, in the heart of North St. Louis' industrial section.

For almost three months now, however, headlines have told of the shady machinations of this company, said to have saved itself from bankruptcy by systematic corruption of tax officials and government employees and connivance with political bigwigs. As a result of charges first presented in articles by St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* reporter Theodore C. Link, at least four government officials have been ousted or have resigned from their positions, and the jobs of many more have been placed in jeopardy. The chairman of the Democratic National Committee, William M. Boyle Jr., is under the cloud of charges that he was "paid off" for helping to secure a government loan for Lithofold. And in the course of Senatorial investigation of Boyle's dealings with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the business ethics of his counterpart in the Republican Party, Guy Gabrielson, have also been brought into question in the GOP.

What kind of a business is it that has caused all this?

The American Lithofold Corporation was founded in 1936 to print business forms and labels. Top official in the company was a respected St. Louis businessman, W. F. Leschen, formerly associated with the A. Leschen and Son Rope Company. The number-two executive was Robert J. Blauner, who for 28 years prior had worked for the Gilman Fanfold Corporation in New York City. Blauner was, and is, the "super salesman" of the firm—a man who could scratch his bald head and come up with the "right" idea.

From 1936 to 1944 the activities of American Lithofold were standard for a relatively small American enterprise. It sold its modest output largely to industrial and business firms. But during World War II, government contracts came to account for a considerable part of its volume. Then, in 1944, Blauner, his son, R. A. Blauner, and his son-in-law, Alfred Bridell, gained the controlling interest in the company. Leschen was allowed to remain as president, perhaps because his daughter was married to young Blauner.

The year before, Blauner and his family had organized the American Carbon Paper Company in Chicago with Bridell as president. Although Blauner insists that American Carbon is not a Lithofold subsidiary, 90 to 100 percent of its production is sold to Lithofold at regular rates, and the business relations between the two concerns are intricate and sub rosa.

After assuming control of Lithofold, the Blauners immediately designated as treasurer John E. Toole, who for 12 years prior had been chief loan analyst for the Smaller War Plants Corporation, a subsidiary of the RFC. He held this position in 1944 when Lithofold secured a $1,771,000 SWPC loan. Lithofold had given up its private business for government contracts during the war, and with the war nearing its end and the government work diminishing it needed money to stay afloat.

The operations of Lithofold from 1944 until this summer are veiled in almost complete mystery. Most of its dealings, even those in the tens of thousands of dollars, appear to have been accomplished verbally, with absolutely no records being maintained. The company refuses to give out its annual fiscal reports. Lithofold executive R. J. Blauner has offered so many versions of his various deals that some of the nation's best reporters are beginning to doubt themselves. He is reported as estimating the company's volume of business with the government, for example, at one time as 15 percent, another time as 50 percent, and at another as 70 percent.

The investigations of Lithofold's financial operations which have grown out of the *Post-Dispatch* charges have, therefore, run into difficulty in reconstructing the firm's history, but gradually the picture is beginning to unfold. A subcommittee of the Permanent Senate Investigating Committee, under gentlemanly Sen. Clyde Hoey of North Carolina, is conducting hearings on the purported activities of Chairman Boyle in helping Lithofold secure an RFC loan in 1949 in return for $8,000 in fees. A St. Louis Grand Jury is inquiring into the outside business activities of James P. Finnegan, who recently resigned as Collector of Internal Revenue in St. Louis, after confessing that he received $45,000 for "legal services" rendered to Lithofold while he was still serving as tax collector. A subcommittee of the House Committee on Ways and Means under Rep. Cecil King (D, Calif.) has uncovered two other cases besides Finnegan's in which Lithofold paid regular sums to Internal Revenue employees as compensation for bringing in

Harry Conn is a member of the staff of the Public Affairs Institute in Washington.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all of the additional printing business for the firm.

Under questioning, a supervisor of the New York office of the Federal Alcohol Tax Unit, James B. E. Olson, admitted that he had solicited business for Lithofold from Rupert Brewers and the Austin Nichols liquor company while on the government payroll and had drawn $750 a month for performing that private service.

Walter Doxon, Internal Revenue agent at Newark, N. J., was revealed to have received $7,500 from Lithofold for undisclosed services. Collector Finnegan's total fees from Lithofold for "outside work," according to company records, amounted to $45,085.11.

Another tax official, G. Elmer Brown, Accounts and Collections Supervisor of the Chicago Internal Revenue Office, admits receiving airplane tickets from Lithofold to fly with his wife to Florida for a vacation. However, he testifies that he repaid the firm.

The Hoey committee has discovered at least two other federal employees who accepted retainers or gifts, presumably for favors to the company. An ex-regional director of the US Wage and Hour Division, John L. Kelly, has been listed by Lithofold's controller as receiving $13,942.47 for "advances on sales commissions" while still in the government service. Hoey also exposed Charles B. Moling, a former $6,400-a-year Air Force civilian employee, who admits receiving many gifts—a ham, World Series tickets, a TV set, liquor and a camera—plus $12,000 in commissions from both the Laurel Printing Company of New York and Lithofold. Moling denies having reciprocated by channeling Air Force printing, for which he was authorized to contract, to Lithofold. He is now out of the government, employed at $25,000 a year as Lithofold's Eastern salesmanager.

Gifts were spread widely to assure a smooth road to badly needed government contracts. The company, for example, gave away 37 expensive cameras which develop and print their own film. One of the recipients, Frank Prince, since ousted from his RFC job, reportedly assigned the examiner who approved the Lithofold loan.

Another RFC official, Oliver R. Kraft, assistant manager of the St. Louis office, was dismissed by RFC head W. Stuart Symington a few hours after he admitted that Blauner had paid the expenses on a five-day fishing trip which he and his family made to northern Wisconsin. This, according to testimony, was after the then-pending loan to Lithofold had been rejected by St. Louis officials.

All these evidences of Lithofold's unbounded enthusiasm for winning friends and influencing key officials in the government stemmed from Blauner's determination to get heavy government financing.

In 1948 Lithofold officials found themselves hard pressed again. Near the end of the year, in applying for an RFC loan, they stated that they were paying 12-percent interest on a $315,000 loan from the Walter E. Heller Company, a Chicago commercial financing organization, and that they still owed the SWPC $170,000 from its 1944 loan. Three times the St. Louis office of the RFC turned down their application for a $584,219 loan. The negative stand was explained by Charles G. Alexander, St. Louis RFC head, to the *Post-Dispatch*:

> We were continually trying to get Blauner to stop paying such exorbitant salaries and exorbitant commissions to officers of the company. And we wanted them to buy carbon paper in the open market in a competitive manner instead of wholly from their subsidiary, the American Carbon Paper Company of Chicago.
>
> Blauner was always hard to pin down on these points. We were of the opinion that he was paying too much to his son, R. A. Blauner, and his son-in-law, A. L. Bridell of Chicago. . . . He, himself, wasn't drawing as much salary as they were, and he was the inspiration of the parent company.

Senator Hoey's committee learned in testimony from Toole, the company treasurer, that Blauner, his son and son-in-law had been drawing $200,000 to $225,000 a year from Lithofold, even while it was asking the RFC for new working capital. The elder Blauner's secretary, Karen Katherman, is reported as having drawn $104,000 in sales commissions in one year.

On January 13, 1949, the Washington RFC Supervisory Committee turned down the loan application. However, on March 3, the RFC's Board of Directors suddenly reversed themselves, granted an immediate loan of $80,000 against the corporation's machinery and reopened the case for further consideration. By July 6, the loan had been increased to $465,000 and it was increased by another $100,000 on November 14.

Sen. John J. Williams (R, Del.), learning of the Lithofold case, undertook a personal investigation of the circumstances of the loan. Last May, on the Senate floor, he quoted from the minutes of an American Lithofold Board of Directors meeting on March 17, 1949 (14 days after the original loan was approved), to the effect that one James P. Finnegan had been "appointed Company Administrative Legal Advisor" at the same time that he was the Collector of Internal Revenue for St. Louis. The Senator said he had proof that Finnegan had worked hard for the loan and that he had either visited or telephoned the RFC office 11 times between July and November, 1949, when the loan was finally granted. Williams also maintained that 120 shares of Lithofold stock, with a par value of $12,000, was transferred to Collector Finnegan's wife by R. A. Blauner four weeks after the original loan was granted. Finnegan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had negotiated a $12,000 bank loan to cover this up, the Senator claimed, and Lithofold was paying the $1,000 plus interest monthly installments. This was accounted for in the books by charging it to the legal fees of American Lithofold and American Carbon.

On May 3, 1950, special investigators arrived in St. Louis. On May 4, they interviewed Collector Finnegan and advised him that they were assigned to conduct an investigation of his office. The following day, Senator Williams claims, the Lithofold Board of Directors held a special meeting and approved the immediate payment of interest on the Finnegan loan "to be charged to the liability account of R. J. Blauner covering patents." On June 5, the investigation formally got under way. One week later the Lithofold Board of Directors voted to approve payment of $1,500 to Finnegan, Senator Williams says, and the next day the 120 shares of Lithofold stock in Mrs. Finnegan's name was cancelled.

Less than four months after the investigation of Finnegan's office was initiated, on August 30, 1950, American Lithofold suddenly paid off in full its RFC loan. The loan had been made for a period of three years and still had some two years to run. To secure funds to complete this sudden payment, Lithofold again gave a chattel mortgage to the Walter E. Heller Company on their building on Bittner street for a loan of $260,000 on the same day they paid off the RFC. Lithofold apparently felt it was desirable to return to Heller's 12-percent interest rates. When he was asked about the loan from Heller recently, Blauner said that "was a private affair." The rate of interest, he told reporters, was also a private affair.

It was the St. Louis Grand Jury investigation of Collector Finnegan's activities that led *Post-Dispatch* reporter Link to concern himself with the activities of Democratic Chairman Boyle. Last July 25, Link fired the charge that Boyle had received $8,000 from Lithofold for exerting influence on the RFC to reverse itself and grant the firm its original loan. Link claimed that Boyle had arranged a meeting between Harley Hise, then RFC chairman, and Lithofold officials and that three days later the loan was approved.

Boyle admitted to the Hoey committee that he had arranged the meeting, it being the job and the duty of a majority party chairman, in his view, to help businessmen meet government officials, but he denied using influence to affect RFC actions or of receiving a "pay off." He then revealed that he had been employed by Lithofold as their Washington counsel from February 1 to April 15, 1949, at a retainer of $500 a month, stating that total payments reached $1,250. Boyle testified that he withdrew from private practice on April 20, 1949, and that his former partner, Max Siskind, was then employed to represent the company. He lambasted the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* articles as "unfounded, distorted and false."

The Republican members of the Hoey committee took great relish in plying Boyle with questions about this last transaction. What excited them even more was Siskind's testimony that he purchased Boyle's law practice, valued at some $450,000, for $150,000, and the fact that this was accomplished verbally, without benefit of any written agreement. Sen. Richard Nixon (R, Calif.) said flatly that this was a "subterfuge" and that he was not convinced that Boyle ever divorced himself from his law practice. Lithofold was not one of the 25 clients involved in the law-practice sale.

One of the fascinating aspects of the Lithofold case is the number of people the company has paid for doing practically nothing. Blauner, himself, admits that attorneys Boyle and Siskind did "practically no work." And Lithofold's Washington representative, Cecil A. Green, a long-time friend of Boyle, did little work either, according to Lithofold official Toole. "I do not know of any work he actually did," he told the Hoey committee on September 14. "I have heard him talk about calls he made on various people, largely, I think, in government agencies." A vice president of the firm first learned that he held this position when R. J. Blauner casually mentioned it in conversation.

But slipshod though its methods may appear, Lithofold made use of its carefully won friends. Vonne V. Circele, a sales executive of Lithofold, explained to the King committee how it worked. When he returned to the firm in October, 1948, after military service, Circele explained, R. J. Blauner, then handling sales in the East, showed him a list of names of prospective customers, saying that they had been furnished by "our new vice-president Jimmy Olson, who's going to help us make some more sales." Olson, who was still with the Alcohol Tax Unit at the time, denied this. He did admit that he had arranged for Jacob Rupert Brewers and Austin Nichols and Company to see Lithofold salesman. He also admitted receiving $5,800 in Lithofold commissions in 1948 and 1949. Circele said that Olson's list was good and that he sold printing to practically every name on the list.

And so the story slowly unravels. Senators vie with Senators, Representatives with Representatives, investigating committees with investigating committees, for the juicy meat of new headlines—headlines that could ultimately decide the 1952 elections, headlines that could make a Nixon or a Mundt or an unknown a major factor in these elections. All this because a little St. Louis printing firm had its own way of avoiding bankruptcy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAROLD L. ICKES: *Joseph "Rank MuckCarthy"*

SENATOR BENTON of Connecticut should be put in his place. He is trying to commit an outrage on the Senate. He has had the cool nerve to offer a resolution calling for the expulsion of that Gibraltar of righteousness from Wisconsin—Sen. Joseph "Rank MuckCarthy." Senator Benton is his own general as well as his own army in this reprehensible effort. None of his colleagues has so far ventured to support him. So we may feel assured that the members of this select club will continue to fraternize with "MuckCarthy." Perhaps the Senate, out of its rare seemliness, will ostracize the meddlesome junior Senator from Connecticut. His colleagues may even heap unprecedented honors upon "MuckCarthy"; who in his first term has added, perhaps more than any other in history, to the dignity, the prestige and the reputation of the "greatest deliberative body on earth."

Senator Benton should be made to realize, since it does not seem to be instinctive with him, that it is unbecoming, especially of a new member of the distinguished and exclusive club, which is the US Senate, to move for the expulsion of a man who has reflected more honor upon the Senate than the Senate has upon him. In a prepared statement delivered before the Rules Committee, Senator Benton went so far as to charge that "MuckCarthy" had committed perjury in at least one instance. The impetuous Mr. Benton so far forgot himself as to suggest that he would not further attempt to insist upon a full investigation to determine whether "MuckCarthy" should be expelled. That, he said, would "become somewhat academic if 'MuckCarthy' should be indicted and convicted of perjury." "After all," he continued, "a Senator in jail, for all practical purposes, has been expelled."

The offensive juxtaposition of the words, "MuckCarthy" and "jail," in one short sentence constitutes an enormity that Benton could not hope to atone for even if he should devote the balance of his life to the effort. And what good would it do to expel this great and good American whose high Christian motives and devotion to his country do not have to be enumerated here because none can hope to portray them in their pristine beauty and untarnished glory so well as Senator "MuckCarthy" has himself done, whenever the opportunity to do so has presented itself? And what if he has committed perjury? "MuckCarthy" would not stoop so low except in a good cause, and what better cause could there be than to add luster to "MuckCarthyism"? Hitler also committed perjury, but that was for the profit and glory of Hitler. There have been other colossal liars from Munchausen to—well, the reader may fill in the name.

Mr. Benton actually made an allusion to a new freedom—the "freedom to lie." Not content with this hook to the jaw, he charged that "MuckCarthy" had accepted $10,000 from an RFC loan to the Lustron Corporation in payment for an article on housing written by a ghost. Again it may be asked, "Well, what of it?" Hasn't "MuckCarthy" more than redeemed himself for that mere peccadillo by sharply cross-examining unequally unfortunate federal employees charged with having received cash or gifts from the Lithofold Corporation? It would be unfair even to insinuate that "MuckCarthy" had hounded these employees in order to learn of new techniques that might be used in lining one's thirsty pocket.

Unfortunately, Col. William A. Roberts, who is prosecuting Drew Pearson's libel suit in Washington against Joseph "Rank MuckCarthy" and others, went further than Senator Benton. Colonel Roberts, who knows more about "MuckCarthy" than he has any right to know, even went so far as to ask "MuckCarthy," under oath, where he got the money to live on during the four years from 1946 to 1949 when his stock-market losses and interest payments amounted to $69,874.73, as against total income for the same period of $66,938.59, leaving a deficit of $2,936.15. "MuckCarthy" might have answered that it was his privilege as a Senator to ask embarrassing questions of this sort of federal employees who had been caught *flagrante delicto* but that it was none of Colonel Roberts' or Drew Pearson's business how he managed to live in luxury on a net loss during the four years in question. The next thing to expect is that Drew Pearson will have the effrontery to inquire where "MuckCarthy" gets all of the money that he spends so lavishly in financing his safari against decent American citizens who do not possess Senatorial immunity.

"MuckCarthy" has not "abused his Senate immunity." He has simply worn it with grace and dignity. If he attacked General Marshall, hadn't his own war record been attacked by Drew Pearson? As to his physical assault on Pearson at a private dinner in a private club, that was just big-boyishness on his part. The Wisconsin Supreme Court, as well as the Bar Association of that state, may have censured him for unprofessional conduct, but there is no accounting for jealousy. In evading state income taxes, he was only following the precedent established by Al Capone and others.

HAROLD L. ICKES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS IN REVIEW

TOO WEAKLY ARMED FOR POWER

by James R. Newman

FOR NEARLY nine years, from May, 1940, to March, 1949, James V. Forrestal served at the centers of power and decision in Washington. He was successively an administrative assistant to President Roosevelt, Under-Secretary of the Navy in the term of Frank Knox, his successor as Secretary, and, finally, the first Secretary of Defense. About the middle of 1944, he began keeping a private record—notes, memoranda, letters and the like—from which this book has been pieced together. Considering where he sat and the rich materials available to him, Forrestal was an uninspired diarist. He had a knack for draining the color out of dramatic events and an unfortunate faculty for overlooking the highlights of the major transactions of state to which he was witness, and in many of which he took part. Walter Millis has exerted himself strenuously to confer on the diaries the status of a major contribution to contemporary history; in this, however, he has been unsuccessful. They are in large part dull, scrappy and disappointing; it would be too much, nevertheless, to say they are wholly devoid of interest or value.

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES. Edited by Walter Millis with the Collaboration of E. S. Duffield (Viking; $5).

Millis introduces the diaries with a series of disconcerting qualifications. What is offered the reader, it appears, is the residue of a mass of material (fifteen loose-leaf binders containing three thousand typewritten pages) which has been subjected most carefully to filtering and fractionation. Millis omitted and selected "on a large scale"; he repaired and "supplemented" by recourse to other sources; he also filled the gaps with extensive commentary of his own. Friends, relatives, lawyers, and the New York *Herald Tribune* (which acquired publication rights) exercised the customary editorial prerogatives to cleanse the material of anything which might discredit reputations or, worse, provide the basis for actions of libel. Nine documents were initially removed from the diaries as "plainly prejudicial to military security"; the final transcript was submitted to the Defense Department for "security review." Assuming this drastic treatment was necessary, one is puzzled as to why the diaries were published at all. For the "processing" to which they have been submitted has diminished their historical value, which could not have been high initially; and Millis' long-winded and often tendentious rehash of events fails to make most of these 555 pages even readable.

Throughout his government career Forrestal indulged a single massive preoccupation: the security of the United States. He conceived this nebulous objective almost entirely in military terms. That the Navy should have mattered to the Secretary of the Navy is no cause for astonishment; what is remarkable is how many important things did not matter to him. He had little concern, so far as the diaries indicate, for domestic problems, social or economic. His occasional comments on labor questions and on the national economy are paltry. He had a curious incomprehension of and a nervous distaste for politics. He got along well, to be sure, with politicians of every kind, but he sought repeatedly to remove from the realm of partisanship, in the name of patriotism, issues which clearly belonged in politics, whose outcome could properly be decided only after political struggle and debate. He had no confidence, one may infer, in popular judgment or opinion.

An appalling number of entries deal exclusively with such lively topics as the naval budget, naval appropriations, naval preparedness, universal military training, the endless squabbles over unification, the preservation of the Navy's empire in the new joint set-up, the Navy's role in the last, the cold and the next war. Forrestal grappled, in his limited but conscientious way, with the growing crisis in US-Soviet relations and the problems of Asia; he recorded who said what about these vexing subjects at Cabinet meetings, in conferences, over the luncheon table; if he grasped that the solution to this complex of hideous difficulties required much more than for the US to be tough, suspicious, alert, to man and arm itself for a knockdown blow, his diaries were not privy to this realization. It is only fair to add that in outlook he was no less profound than most of his colleagues.

Forrestal spurred himself unsparingly. Millis says he was "selfless"; undoubtedly he was troubled, tight-lipped, inward, restless, self-punishing; he was also ambitious and enjoyed power. He spoke often of the burdens of office and assured friends that he longed to return to private life, but this is a stock complaint not to be taken seriously. He was a dedicated, sensitive man, too weakly armed for the Washington jungle. Forrestal was devoted to his work, yet events and experiences gnawed at him. If it is not always clear why he worried or whether he fully understood the issues he worried about, it is at least plain that he worried a great deal. A year before the end of the war he wrote that he was troubled over "the dangerous assumption that because we have finished (sic) one war we shan't have another"; he fretted over the secrets of the atom bomb and over custody of bombs by a civilian agency instead of the armed forces; he launched a personal "crusade" against the creation of the State of Israel mainly because of the adverse effect this might have on oil supply from the Mediterranean; he was so exercised over a speech to be delivered by Henry Wallace in Britain that he seriously advocated to the Cabinet

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the cancellation of Wallace's passport. (Truman, who as usual had more sense than most of his advisers—Tom Clark, on the same occasion, suggested Wallace be denied re-entry into the US—dismissed the proposal as bizarre.)

Millis would persuade us that Forrestal was a deep thinker: "He coupled outstanding administrative abilities with an unusually reflective and philosophic bent of mind." My impression is that there is a close resemblance between the philosophical reflections of Forrestal and those of John Wanamaker.

The panacea for world ills, as Forrestal thought, was to put businessmen in charge of government as well as business. The future of Britain under socialism was dark; India, he told her ambassador, was on the wrong track in economic development because she failed to allot a leading role to private enterprise. Life, liberty and the pursuit of profitable happiness could be assured by putting businessmen at the helm and by encouraging business by such measures as "wise taxation, freedom from unnecessary prosecutions, etc." The key words of Forrestal's administrative philosophy were "integration," "co-ordination" and "co-operation." He believed in them, as he did in "harmony," which took "constant effort and work as well as imagination to foresee the things that will create friction." The way to compete with the Soviet system was to "harness all the talent and brains in this country"; he was a fervid advocate of "teamwork."

He had no use for "intellectuals." The mere mention of Harold Laski's name tended to unhinge him; Millis concedes he had "a mild obsession" on the subject. The "intellectual muddlers" who had had "the throttle for the last ten years" were as much to blame as Hitler and the Russians for putting the world "into receivership" from which it had to be rescued by "practical people." "There is no question," he wrote to the King Features philosopher, George E. Sokolsky, "that foreign policy is a function of defense and vice versa." Millis, describing how Forrestal spent a leisure evening, remarks he passed it "characteristically, reading Walter Bagehot's *English Constitution*." The influence of the brilliant Lombard Street economist and social philosopher is not visible in this train of commonplaces.

Scattered through the diaries are a few entries which illumine events of the last decade. The flurries and tremors that swept over the Administration with each new move by the Russians, the Cabinet's reliance on absurd intelligence reports, the making of foreign policy in nervous fits and rash starts, and the astonishing failure to deliberate over crucial decisions: of these matters there is ample evidence in Forrestal's record. Truman and Marshall are to be seen, nevertheless, as patient, well-meaning men. On the question of the use of the atom bomb the President told Forrestal he proposed to keep the decision in his own hands because he did not wish "to have some dashing lieutenant-colonel decide when would be the proper time to drop one." The implausible Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa appears here in the unvarying role of troublemaker in atomic-energy affairs; of constructive ideas he had none, but together with other mischievous men in the Senate he labored ceaselessly to concoct a case against Lilienthal. Forrestal's account of conversations with MacArthur and of a long cable about Soviet intentions sent in February, 1946, by George Kennan from Moscow are among the entries worth reading. Little is said about FDR which would lead one to suppose that Forrestal had either affection or respect for him; on the other hand, lunching with "Jimmy Byrnes," Forrestal asserted that Stalin "had good reason for liking FDR because he got out of him the Yalta Agreement, anything he asked for during the war, and finally an opportunity to push Communist propaganda in the United States and throughout the world."

As to the causes of his crack-up and tragic end, neither the diaries nor their editor has much to tell us. Forrestal permitted no intimate thought to enter these pages; his writings no less than his photographs reveal him as one who had succeeded in concealing his inner feelings from himself as well as from others, in repressing, if not in mastering, emotion. There is reason to believe that in the few months before his resignation he began to disintegrate under pressure and criticism. He expected to resign May 1, but the President's sudden decision to replace him in March was a heavy blow. A few weeks after his appointment as Secretary of Defense, in August, 1947, Forrestal wrote that by the end of another year he would "probably [need] the combined attention of Fulton Sheen and the entire psychiatric profession." The prophecy was accurate, but he drove himself finally beyond the help of science or the consolation of religion. The last words he wrote, the night he jumped from the sixteenth-floor window of the Naval Hospital in Bethesda, was a passage copied from Sophocles' "Chorus from Ajax." In it appeared the lines:

> Worn by the waste of time—
> Comfortless, nameless, hopeless save
> in the dark prospect of the yawning
> grave . . .

UP TO THE PRESENT

AN AMERICAN HISTORY, by Merle Curti, Richard H. Shryock, Thomas C. Cochran, Fred Harvey Harrington (Harper; 2 vols., $12.50).

NEARLY fifty years ago Henry Adams caustically remarked that, for ignorance of the past, the American mind of his time was unique. Recent educational surveys suggest that the contemporary American mind is little more enlightened. The authors of *An American History* are anxiously aware of this condition and its ominous implications. Their work is inspired by a sense of moral urgency. Today, they point out, the decisions of Americans have worldwide consequences. American civilization is therefore on trial. "If this civilization is misunderstood by its own people, if its interpretation falls into the hands of special groups seeking merely their own ends," the authors assert, "the United States of America may fail in the hour of greatest opportunity."

This is the challenge to which *An American History* responds. The four authors are distinguished professional historians, teachers in universities who have made important contributions to historical scholarship. But their present

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

work has not been written for their colleagues, or as another textbook for students. They intend it for the general reader, and have designed it to meet his needs, aiming primarily at clarity and readability. They are convinced that, "above all else, investigation of the American past should promote understanding of American civilization and American issues of today."

The immediate present and very recent past therefore become, in these volumes, a culmination to which reference constantly points forward. This emphasis on relevance to the contemporary is a useful device. It helps to illuminate the long, complex processes that have brought the United States to its current position of world power; that have slowly generated the foreign and domestic problems which confront the nation in a period of world crisis; that have determined the nature of our existing society and culture; that have shaped the attitudes of mind today being made articulate.

The authors are concerned more with process than with events, and they have consistently subordinated chronicle to interpretation. They have relied mainly on a topical rather than a purely chronological method of treatment. The work is divided into seven parts, each of which deals with a large epoch. Within each of these divisions the authors describe changing economic and social patterns; cultural development in terms of major trends in thought, literature and art; scientific, technological and industrial progress; the modification of political concepts and institutions; the place of the United States in the larger scheme of world affairs. Although these topics are separately discussed, their interrelation is carefully worked out and adequately presented. This weaving together of the various forces that have evolved American civilization is the book's outstanding accomplishment.

As the authors point out, the "facts of history" are so numerous that no volume or series of volumes could contain them all. *An American History* is likely to be most useful to readers who require a broad, general survey. Admirable bibliographies point the way to additional information about every topic mentioned. The principal weaknesses of this new history result from inevitable condensation and elimination. The treatment of literature, philosophy, the arts and sciences tends to be summary and, sometimes, inept. It is not true, for example, that Mark Twain, like Henry James and William Dean Howells, was "influenced by French and Russian naturalists." Neither of two references to Josiah Willard Gibbs indicates that he founded the science of physical chemistry and worked out the mathematical formulas upon which much of our advanced technology is based. Although the pragmatism of William James is touched on, his greater eminence as a founder of modern psychology is ignored. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes's theories of jurisprudence, like his great dissenting opinions in civil-liberties cases, are not mentioned, nor are the radical innovations brought into constitutional law by Brandeis. The achievement of the Wright brothers is distorted by an assertion that the internal-combustion engine "brought forth" the airplane. The Wrights had mastered the aerodynamic principles of flight before equipping their glider with a motor at Kitty Hawk. Aviation was born of application of these principles, not the motor. But these and similar blemishes do not seriously diminish the value of *An American History*. The two volumes fulfill the stated aims of the authors. They provide an account of the rise of our civilization, and an interpretation of the processes that have shaped it, which is comprehensive, well integrated and remarkably lucid. LLOYD MORRIS

MACRO-ECONOMICS

BUSINESS CYCLES AND NATIONAL INCOME, by Alvin H. Hansen (Norton; $6.75).

THE American leader of the Keynesian school here sets forth his interpretation of macro-economics—that is, the new concentration on the national economy as a whole distinguished from its atomistic parts, such as the individual firm or consumer. His discussion includes the historical business cycle, the theory of income and employment as the followers of Keynes now see it, a review of business-cycle theory, and the implications of all this for public policy.

Parts of the book any literate person could understand; other parts would be tough going even for the usual undergraduate with two years of formal economics teaching. Apparently it is intended as a text, but since Hansen is one of the few living American economists who use jargon sparingly and avoid unnecessary qualifications and involutions, many readers outside classrooms will find his book profitable.

The author does not urge any startling new positions of his own; his purpose is rather to summarize contemporary thinking. He expressly takes no stand in the recent argument between the Federal Reserve authorities, who believe they should tighten credit by selling government securities in the open market, and the Secretary of the Treasury, who wanted Federal Reserve to support bond prices. Some readers may be surprised to discover that Hansen's bitterly attacked theory of economic maturity now turns out to be little more than the familiar observation that in some periods technical innovations, population growth and the like are more favorable to investment than in other periods. One gets the impression that, in practical matters at least, both the Keynesians and their critics have learned enough from each other to narrow the gulf between them.

Hansen, like many other writers on economics, often fails to make clear whether he regards a statement as a self-evident truth, a theory fully at home with carefully assembled facts, or a hypothesis which, though of interest, is inadequately established. He seems sometimes to take the attitude that the adoption of a theory is little more than a matter of taste. On occasion this habit is bewildering, as when he assumes a position without taking account of some other relevant position which he previously has assumed. For example, on page 66 he attributes the rapid economic growth after 1900 to electrification, motorization and preparation for World War I, although in the preceding chapter he emphasizes building booms as a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major factor in exactly such periods.

Nowhere is this confusion more evident than in his discussion of the work of Wesley Mitchell, who, though he welcomed theoretical speculation by others, chose as his own work empirical research without which theory may have little substance. Hansen appears to criticize Mitchell for elaborating a "description" of the cycle instead of searching for its "root causes." What precisely is the meaning of *cause* when one is examining an intricate process comprised of many interdependent variables? It should be obvious to Hansen from other passages in his book that in such circumstances "root cause" is an elusive concept, to say the least. One may, indeed, discover strategic points where intervention could most readily change the behavior of the process under observation. But for that purpose careful, quantitative description is indispensable. Indeed, Hansen himself has made frequent use of discoveries resulting from the kind of research that Mitchell sponsored.

GEORGE SOULE

GROWING PAINS

THE ADOLESCENT, by Marynia Farnham, M.D. (Harper; $3).

HALF-MAN, half-child, and yet neither, the adolescent occupies a special human limbo. For example, he has some of the adult's desire for mature sexual experience, some of the child's sense of self-infatuation; and he also displays a shy, sensitive, awkward, wondering air that remains unknown alike to man and to child. It is this limbo that Dr. Farnham has attempted to explore.

In the attempt, she has done much to remove the bewilderment and despair with which parents normally regard their teen-age children. The psychology of the adolescent (if a whirlwind synopsis has any value) derives chiefly from these two forces: first, his yearning for maturity, matched by a desire to preserve the dependencies of childhood; second, his discovery and gradual formation of a personal identity. The reversal of "ultimate convictions" from day to day, the relentless preoccupation with clothes and cosmetics, the weeks and even months spent in dreamy, apparently futile fantasies, the periods of intensive study and dedication to ascetic ideals, the love of athletic display, the incredible emotional scenes over trivia: all such things belong to the adolescent's uncertain reaching out for mature life and his corresponding struggle to evaluate his identity, to define for himself his needs, failings, ambitions and capacities—a definition which becomes "the central fact of every individual's life." Adolescence resembles a vast aptitude test whose questions are propounded, whose years of examination are proctored and whose answers are mercilessly graded by the adolescent himself.

Dr. Farnham (who in 1947 wrote, with Ferdinand Lundberg, *Modern Woman: The Lost Sex*) has not only succeeded in giving a psychological description of the teen-ager; she has also given good advice on how to deal with him. Her broad social views on solving the delinquency problem and creating a healthier citizenry make a less favorable impression. She advocates an immense increase in the number of child and parent groups—an increase on a really staggering scale. Having expressed her own distaste for such methods, she concludes that "you cannot cure the ills of organization by disorganization." But can they be cured by greater organization? Except for this single doubtful point, *The Adolescent* is an instructive and absorbing study.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Charles Spielberger is a critic and writer whose stories have appeared in Partisan Review *and* Yale Review. *He has devoted several years to the field of psychiatry.*

HAVELOCK ELLIS'
PSYCHOLOGY OF
SEX

His LATEST BOOK on the SEXUAL LIFE CRYSTALLIZES the FINDINGS of a LIFETIME

NEW REPUBLIC *says:*
"Has all the qualities of a scientific text except dullness. . . . As to the art of loving, Ellis knows his husbands! He does not hesitate to ascribe to them the 'frigidity' of so many wives."

CARL VAN DOREN *says:*
"The best one-volume treatment of sex in the English language."

COMPLETE IN ONE VOLUME

389 PAGES

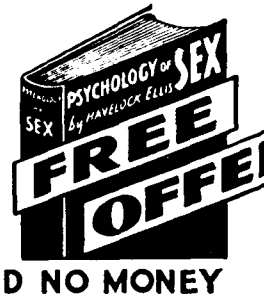
THE NATION *says:*
"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

BERTRAND RUSSELL *says:*
"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

PARTIAL CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity
Impotence
Firt Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed"; the "Over-sexed"
Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism & Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Homosexuality
Cruelty and Pain in Relation to Sex
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse and Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility & Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy; Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis; Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-Marital Knowledge and experience
Modesty; Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life during Pregnancy; immediately After
Sexual Feeling in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods & Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Positions in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious"; Libido"
The Art of Love
Dreams: Their Significance
Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Sexual Fetishes and Symbols
Sexual Adjustments
Sex Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women; of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index

AUTHORIZED • UNABRIDGED



SEND NO MONEY

MAIL THIS COUPON

Mail this coupon to your bookseller or to
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 977-F
251 West 19th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Send me a copy of Havelock Ellis' Psychology of Sex for free examination. I will pay $3.00 plus a few cents delivery charge when the book arrives. Full purchase price to be refunded, if returned within 5 days. (I am over 21 years old.)

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

☐ CHECK HERE if you wish to enclose only $3, saving delivery charge. (Same money-back guarantee.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE AIR: Back They Come

AFTER Jackie Robinson clouted the homer that won the game for the Dodgers that arduous Sunday afternoon in Philadelphia, I was ready for work. I switched off the television set in my friend's home and prepared for an evening of radio listening. But WFIL, the local outlet of the ABC network, let me down. It did not tie in to ABC's gala preview of *Against the Storm*, an event considered important enough to bring Carl Sandburg into a studio in company with Robert Kintner, president of the network, and O. Parker McComas, president of Philip Morris. Instead, WFIL played a transcription of *Boston Blackie*. I hope the dick got his man and WFIL's listeners their money's worth. But I think they might have gained more by listening to the network program. For one thing, they might have heard something about the author of *Against the Storm*, Sandra Michael.

I wrote at length about Miss Michael and *Against the Storm* in this department in May of 1949. I spoke then of her sense of obligation to her audience, of her skill in combining a serious understanding of human nature with humor, tolerance and adult dramatic values, of an integrity that can balance poetic tenderness with a deep anger at injustice. These are strange ingredients to find in radio today, but they have marked Miss Michael's work on the air over the last nine years. *Against the Storm* didn't last long in 1949. Now it's back on the ABC network daily, Mondays through Fridays, at 10:45 a.m.

Tallulah Bankhead's *The Big Show* this year, like last, fills Sunday evenings from 6:30 for 90 minutes, and again I found so large a dose of her exhibitionism much too much. True, she had help. The opener had been recorded at the Palladium in London, whence the BBC inflicted it on the British audience. Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh did a scene from their much publicized production of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*, soon to be seen in New York. There had been a lot of hoohah in London because a BBC comedian named Pickles had refused to fulfill a commitment to appear on the Bankhead clambake, asserting that the script did not fit his usual style. Well, Jack Buchanan went on instead and proved that he could do almost nothing with the stuff Goodman Ace had concocted for him. Miss Bankhead had Beatrice Lillie, too, with whom she traded insults (she also insulted Bette Davis, who was not present), and Fred Allen. The whole thing, according to NBC's publicity department, had been undertaken in the interests of international amity. From London, the gang went to Paris. There, according to my spies, nothing more serious happened than some misunderstandings with the local musicians recruited for the broadcast, and with Josephine Baker, who is even more popular in France than she is at home. After Paris, the troupe came home. And it was high time. One more safari like this, Tallulah dahling, and Eisenhower might as well quit his job.

I switched to television, after Bankhead had wrung buckets of tears from a recitation of "The Jervis Bay." Ed Sullivan, having given two weeks of CBS-TV's *Toast of the Town* to the biography of Oscar Hammerstein II, was now working on Helen Hayes. I wish Sullivan would go back to things and people he understands. How about the life, and particularly the letters, of Nick Kenny?

From nine to 9:30, I was back on radio. *Theatre Guild on the Air* did *Main Street*, with Joseph Cotten and Joan Fontaine in the leads. Just a half-hour of the 60-minute program (*Guild* is on NBC-radio Sundays from 8:30) convinced me that US Steel is still permitting its program to stick to its course. This show went on the air six or seven years ago. Homer Fickett has directed it from the beginning and has always had a free hand, with the result that *Guild* has been radio's best commercially sponsored, regularly scheduled dramatic program. Unfortunately, there is little competition these days, but *Guild* maintains the high standards it set before television scared the radio broadcasters half to death. Fickett's direction of Cotten and Miss Fontaine in the Will and Carol Kennicott parts and his handling of the entire cast were sure-handed and sensitive to the delicate shadings of tone and mood possible from radio at its best.

The sound medium does not need the hoopla without which television could not exist. What it does need is respect. Perhaps by applauding loudly enough for the few good shows still left in radio, we can encourage a handful of the more courageous to keep going. Radio never needed audience support more than it does now.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

Thoughts Around Ballet

THERE were no new plays of merit during the past two weeks. I took my own advice—"your best bet is ballet"—and frequented the dancers, this time at the Metropolitan Opera House, where the Ballet Theatre is on view.

There are three main categories of ballet audience: those who are critical because they are expert, those who are critical because they are ignorant, and those, like myself, who being far from expert are hardly critical at all. We simply have a good time. In a world that seems maimed, it is wonderful to behold the lithe.

The first evening I attended the Ballet Theatre I was accompanied by a highly intelligent young actress who was most severe about the performance on the ground that it was empty. The program that night was poor, the orchestra insufficiently rehearsed, and some of the best numbers sloppily executed. The one new piece was *Till Eulenspiegel*, rather feeble in conception and saved only by Jean Babilée. His gay athleticism has something of the Paris streets and cafés about it, which, combined with a certain delicate virility, becomes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

close and endearing to us. But though my guest was largely right about the show, I found myself impelled to defend the ballet even in one of its less brilliant manifestations.

The young actress spoke on behalf of standards set by the present American theatre as exemplified in the production of plays by Odets, Williams and Miller. This is the theatre which, at best, endeavors to concentrate realism to the point of poetry. While these productions generally represent a sound standard, I cannot but feel that to regard it as an absolute is to constrict and provincialize the theatre in a way that would surely lead to an impasse. The realm of the theatre is as large as human experience, and even contemporary experience extends beyond the contemporary scene and contemporary methods.

The range of ballet is just as wide, although we are inclined to think of it only in terms of either "classic" or "Russian" ballet, reserving such terms as "the modern dance" to more recent developments. But even the most traditional —eighteenth or nineteenth-century Italian, French or Russian—ballet is something for us to treasure in our theatre. For just as all the arts, as we have been told, tend toward the state of music, so all theatre tends toward the state of the ballet (or *dance*), from which indeed it may be said to have emerged.

Those who object to the ballet from a theatre standpoint are impatient because the ballet, as we commonly observe it, appears to be related exclusively to an ideal of exquisite refinement which is aristocratic, courtly, decorative military or romantically, not to say fashionably, ethereal. (The direction of the "classic" ballet movement appears to be a perpetually proud or snobbish impulse upward from the ground.) The "reality" of the ballet in the naturalistic sense is too remote in time and custom for us to see the connection between the cultural facts it derives from and the finished form. Hence ballet, when its subject matter is recognized literally, strikes its critics as outmoded, and, when it is not recognized, as being nothing but form for form's sake. But even if this were true, the ballet would still remain a priceless source of pleasure and instruction to those enamored of the theatre.

It is heresy to believe that the theatre lives by its "ideas"—in the sense of the intellectual formulations its dramatists enunciate—or through its reports on topical actuality. And we ought to be reminded that emotion, of which we in the theatre are so facilely fond, is not localized in the solar plexus or the viscera, the effects of which are to be measured solely by the reaction of our heartbeats, tear ducts or blood pressure. There are emotions of the mind and those of an imagination distilled to such a purity that their origin in our daily functions and experience is hard to trace. There are "cold" emotions that are as noble and profound (though difficult to define) as the "hot" ones we think easy to explain. The abstractions of a Balanchine have as much content as the more concrete matter of a Robbins. Who does not value the delight of Bernard Shaw in his own wit and diction as highly as the tremors of our American playwrights? Surely the surface scurry in the prose of the Restoration dramatists will outlive the earnestness of John Galsworthy. If Cézanne's apples are as full of life as a Raphael Madonna, an Alicia Alonso leap may have just as much significance—though we may be at a loss to name its nature—as the frenzied cry of an actress in one of our psychological dramas of frustration.

The theatre is always on the road to vulgarity when it limits itself to the presentation of everyday sensations, emotions, "problems." One of the glories of the ballet—despite its notorious proneness to the inane—lies in this: that its stylizations, together with a penchant for the past so great that even the "modern" in the ballet quickly becomes assimilated with old forms, keep it (like verse drama) pointing toward universals. The ballet also emphasizes the fact that the means of art are part of its content. The best of ballet belongs to the repertory of the soul. The theatre which contains no element of ballet within it is an impoverished thing.

HAROLD CLURMAN

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 H ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

BOOKS

ATHEIST BOOKS, 32-page catalogue free. Truth Seeker Co., 38 Park Row, N. Y. C. 8.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis, Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, or mail. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $5.00.

LANGUAGES

LISTEN AND LEARN a Language by Linguaphone Conversational Method. At home, quickly, easily master Spanish, French, German, Russian, Asiatic—any of 29 languages. Add to Service, job, travel opportunities. Send for FREE book. Approved for VETERANS' Training. Linguaphone Institute, 8610 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

LITERARY SERVICES

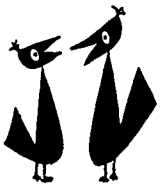
AUTHORS! Sales department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet. Write to-day! Mead Literary Agency, 419 4th Ave., New York 16, N. Y. (Or. 9-1150).

PERSONAL

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' *Write for booklet, or phone*

MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



New Republic

One-Year Subscription Rates by Air and First-Class Mail to

OVERSEAS COUNTRIES

Let the NEW REPUBLIC carry the fight against inaction and reaction across the seas. There must be someone you know in a foreign country who would delight in receiving by airmail the magazine that is read and depended upon by thousands of distinguished Americans. If you are going abroad or live abroad you can receive your copy of the New Republic at these fast delivery rates.

AIR MAIL

Subscription rates:

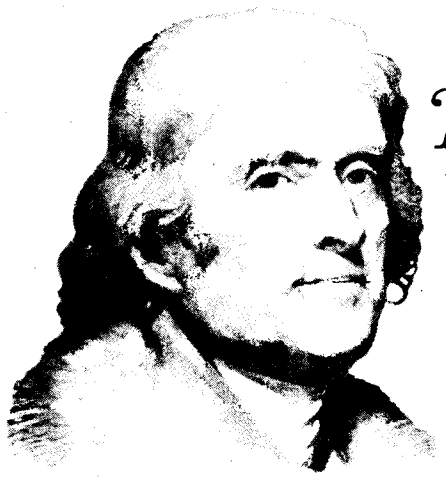
$46.00 to: British Isles; Europe.
71.00 to: Near East; Australia; India; South Africa; Japan; Hong Kong.
33.00 to: B.W.I.; South America.

FIRST-CLASS MAIL

$13.00 to: British Isles; B.W.I.; Europe (except Spain); Near East; Australia; India; South Africa; Japan; Hong Kong.
12:00 to: Mexico; Canada; Hawaii; Puerto Rico; Alaska; Spain; South America.

The NEW REPUBLIC
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The richest treasure-house of historical information ever left by a single man.

THE PAPERS OF Thomas Jefferson

Editor: JULIAN P. BOYD *Associate Editors:* LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD and MINA R. BRYAN

THIS notable series, one of the largest book-publishing undertakings in the history of the country, includes the almost incredible volume of Jefferson's writings on practically every aspect of human life – from politics and diplomacy to architecture, philosophy, agriculture, and music. The series includes, besides the special writings, 18,000 letters written by Jefferson and, in full or summary, 25,000 letters written to him by the great and humble of many nations.

Four volumes have already been published. Subsequent volumes will be published at the rate of approximately four per year, and the full series is to include fifty-two volumes. Subscribers to the series receive a discount of ten percent from the list price of ten dollars per volume. Advance payment for future volumes is not required, and subscriptions are cancellable.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER: "The series will illuminate, as does no comparable body of private papers, the whole course of our history from the 1760's to the 1820's –the period of the Revolution, the launching of the Constitution, the formation of basic political institutions, the establishment of political parties, the development of the West, the emergence into world politics, the evolution of characteristic social and cultural institutions." But even such a listing does not suggest the range of Jefferson's interest: "He was a man of sentiment; he was a man of reason. He was the perfect provincial, never happy but at Monticello; he was the complete cosmopolitan, at home in every society. He was the scientist, experimenting on his farm or in his laboratory. He was the shrewd politician, cunningly building a political party; he was the aloof philosopher, criticizing Plato and celebrating Locke. He was engineer and inventor, musician and architect, philologist and bookman, agronomist and horticulturalist, scholar and educator, lawyer and statesman, administrator and diplomat."

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, St. George L. Sioussat: "The scholarly world will hail THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON as one of the greatest of all accomplishments in the historiography of our time."

YALE REVIEW, Louis B. Wright: "The most monumental editorial task ever undertaken in this country, and one eminently deserving the commendation not only of Americans but of the world."

TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT (London): "The most magnificent literary memorial ever erected to any American. Indeed it may be doubted if any great historical figure except Napoleon has ever been commemorated on such a scale."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN: "The best American scholarship . . . presented in a manner that must be truly definitive and in a form that is a beautiful example of the printer's art."

SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, David C. Mearns: "A magnificent transcript of a magnificent mind . . . the scholarly apparatus is altogether admirable . . . Beautifully designed by P. J. Conkwright."

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, Gerald Johnson: "One of the most extraordinary efforts in American scholarship."

((Descriptive brochure available on request))

THE publishers have prepared a prospectus, giving full details of the Plan of Subscription, the editorial history of the work since its inception in 1943, what the series will contain, and how the tremendous task of collecting and editing is being accomplished. It is available without charge, and involves no obligation to subscribe.

To receive this prospectus, simply mail the coupon below.

Princeton University Press
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

GENTLEMEN: Please send me the free descriptive brochure which gives full details about the Plan of Subscription to THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

J-6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED